5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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making salt were described to me, the housewife depends mainly on trade salt. Meals never consist of more than one course. Plates, forks and spoons are owned by all households but people do not always use them. While boiling is the most common way of preparing food, bananas, yams and breadfruit are usually roasted. Meat is often preserved by daily smoking, sometimes for long periods. There is a rule against eating meat 'in lent' and this is kept very strictly, but probably for traditional religious reasons to be discussed later. The main drink with meals is a soup consisting of the water in which the vegetables and herbs were cooked.

Foraging. A good deal of plant and animal food is obtained from foraging, especially in the tropical rain forest which covers most of the Northern District. Among foraged animal foods I would mention especially grubs, frogs, snails, rats, bush eggs and lice. Foraged plant foods are especially valued during the dry season when roots, leaves and fern fronds may make up part of a meal. Savoury herbs and leaves, however, are collected at all times of the year. Some food plants, though growing in the forest, are owned by individuals so that the gathering of these plants may be better described as harvesting than collecting. The most important are the *tauga* and *puga* nut, sago, breadfruit, wild fig, and fruiting pandanus.[4]

Hunting. According to Waddell and Krinks, about two man-hours weekly are spent on hunting (3.7 hours by men and 0.3 hours by women). Hunting patterns on the Mount Lamington foothills differ widely from those on the alluvial plains where kunai grass is widespread. On the foothills, there is hunting in reverted gardens and in very limited areas of virgin bush. The usual quarry consists of small marsupials and birds. If a pig is encountered, it is invariably a village pig whose owner has a claim to the carcase. The game population was virtually exterminated after the introduction of guns in the 1950s. In the kunai country, on the other hand, hunting land is abundant. The technique is by firing the kunai so that the animals can be shot when they escape. Such a hunt requires a large number of men who ring the burnt-over area. Not only marsupials but also pigs are killed, either by gunfire or by being roasted alive in the kunai grass. By no means all animals killed in the fire are retrieved. Fires tend to get out of hand and to spread over surrounding bush land which then is often covered with kunai grass and so is useless for purposes of cultivation.

Fishing. The supply of fish has suffered greatly with the introduction of snorkels after the Second World War, as this equipment enabled the Orokaiva to fish out their rivers almost completely in a very short time. Fish is still an important resource, however, in the lower reaches of the huge rivers which run through the Northern District: Kumusi, Ambogo, Girua, Sambogo, etc. In Inonda, the village studied by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) and Waddell and Krinks (1968), 3.8 man hours per week are spent on fishing, mostly with spears, and the product is used not only for consumption but also for trade. (Inonda people also trade meat and bush eggs.) Many of the villages near the mountain, such as Sivepe, have very little fish. Apart from a few eels and crabs, the rivers contained a small supply of two-inch-long fishes caught in April with a small hand-net used as a scoop. (See Williams 1930:53 for description.)

Animal Husbandry. There are three kinds of domestic livestock: pigs, dogs and fowls. Every man still has one or more small dog which he uses for hunting

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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614 protection was now demanded on pain of eviction. Around the same time, coffee
423 was being introduced in Inonda as a cash crop, but none of this was planted on
425 Tandai'undi land. Three men who had land derived from a different source
422 planted coffee there in 1955 but the other families who had only Tandai'undi
245 land had planted none as late as 1967. They feared that if they did, there would be trouble with the Tandai'undi.

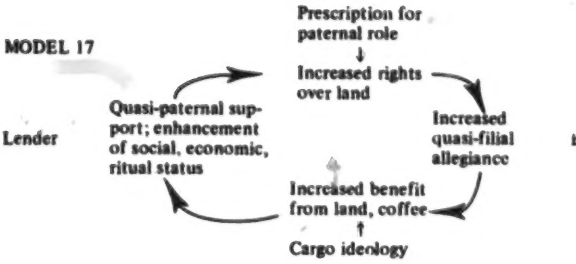
There are many examples in other parts of Orokaiva territory to show that these fears were fully justified. To confine myself to Sivepe, where my data are most detailed, I found that although more than half the land was occupied by
423 rights other than patrimony only two out of fourteen coffee gardens were
422 established on such land. When I inquired into these two cases one grower
425 explained to me in careful detail that he had nothing to fear because the mother's brother who gave him the land to 'look after' had absolutely no descendants, neither male nor female, nor any brothers and sisters. The other grower, who was occupying his wife's land, was in trouble already. His solution had been to plant a second coffee garden and to promise he would relinquish the first when the second began to bear. The other twelve growers all held the view that it is better to grow coffee on patrimony land.

I know of only one case where the coffee-growing occupiers ignored the views of the holders of patrimony rights. This was in Mumuni where after some years of fruitless disputes the holders of the patrimony began to raid the coffee gardens. When the victims of these thefts asked my advice, I had to tell them that a Government Court could probably do nothing for them as I knew they had no legal title to the land.[3]

Under traditional Orokaiva law, the holders of the patrimony probably have a valid claim to cash crops. These crops may be viewed as an unforseeable increment in the value of the land transferred, an extraordinary stroke of luck. In Orokaiva religious thought, there can be only one explanation for such a stroke of luck, namely that it was given by the spirits dwelling on the land. As far as the Tandai'undi were concerned, their link with the spiritual essence of the land was still unbroken. The Andiriha were only caretakers. A perpetual gift of the land to the Andiriha does not mean to the Tandai'undi what it would mean to Europeans. Rather than a gift that is made once for all, it is a gift that is continuing to be made in perpetuity. As the function of this gift is to mediate a social transaction, it presupposes that the social transaction continues in perpetuity. If the value of the gift increases dramatically through unforeseen causes, the donors may no longer consider it appropriate for mediating this relationship, unless the rewards from the relationship also increase.

We may express this notion in the following diagram which is a modification of model 16:

MODEL 17



The argument of the Tandai'undi and other owners of coffee-producing land is that the production of coffee gives the occupiers increased rights over land so that they owe an increased quasi-filial allegiance which must be expressed in increased prestations. These may take the form of substantial gifts, a share of the crop, etc. The benefit the owners seek to obtain from the land is nearly always money.

It may seem far-fetched that my model shows 'cargo ideology' as the 'mythological charter' for this desire for money. It may even be argued that the desire for money requires no ideological explanation. Without entering upon this larger question, I would directly relate the significance given to money in Orokaiva ideology to what has been said in the previous chapter about Jesus Christ as a *dema* figure. It is He who is credited with the introduction of money into the world and this is regarded as perhaps His greatest blessing. Hence the pursuit of money is not despised by Orokaiva nor even viewed as morally neutral: to acquire money is to give evidence of having followed the precepts of the *dema*. If the mysteries of the *dema* were more fully revealed to the Orokaiva, they believe they would acquire a great deal more money.[4]

I would argue that the Orokaiva regard the coffee industry as a premonition of greater wealth and power that may later come as the result of the return of the ancestors. Until the coffee industry started, Orokaiva could earn money only by leaving their villages to work for white men. Suddenly it became possible to obtain equivalent amounts from the products of village soil. What stirred the imagination was that a man could go to his garden, pick the coffee and then, after a not too demanding ritual of processing, pour it into a bag and obtain money for it. This was not classified as work but as a kind of magic. *Work* (the Pidgin English word) referred exclusively to paid labour done for an employer. *Pure* referred more specifically to the traditional gardens. *Kapi* (coffee) was what one might compare to a 'money tree': it was the source of the benefits which enabled a village family to share in the 'new day'.

From the cases I observed at Mumuni and Sivepe I gathered that some modest proportion of the proceeds of the coffee garden (like a tithe) would not satisfy the owners of the land upon which coffee was grown by useholders. They seemed to want all, or nearly all, the cash that could be gathered from the bushes. It was because their claims were immoderate that I began to think of the influence of cargo ideology.

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574 The first plans for a feast are laid at least one year in advance, as it involves
621 extra plantings of taro as well as economising on pigs. By the end of December,
244 the feast taro ought to have finished flowering and the tubers ought to have formed. It is only then that the chances of an abundant harvest can be reasonably assessed. The feast-giver stealthily tours the village gardens to see whether the taro are 'ready', collecting tubers in gardens where tubers have formed and collecting flowers in those gardens which are lagging behind. He hides these specimens in his house. If his examination has been successful, he calls a meeting attended by all the men of the village (but not the women) at which the assembled people formally acknowledge that they are planning a feast. The leader will display the taro and the flowers he has collected, thus demonstrating visibly whose gardens will and will not be able to contribute food to the feast. The meeting decides who will be invited to the feast. The men share the meat of an animal, traditionally a pig, but nowadays often a rooster.

This ritual is clearly intended to remove obstacles that might prevent
[773] harmonious social relations from being established at the feast. I have already discussed[5] a myth which contained a charter for this custom of examining the gardens: it told the story of a food shortage which caused a quarrel and concluded with the enunciation by a *dema* of a rule that feasts should in future be held only in times of abundance. It is not sufficient, of course, for the people to say and to believe that there will be abundance. Abundance must be established ritually so as to be placed beyond human dispute.

574 The pig sacrifice at this meeting serves to remove any latent hostility between
621 the men of the group, so that all will be united and co-operate unreservedly
[554] towards the success of the feast. Though the *pondo kiari embo* tends to be a man of much influence in the village, he does not normally have any authority over resources held by any extended family other than his own. It is only for the specific purpose of feast-giving that he is given such authority, and it is limited in time from the meeting just described until the day of the feast itself. The
[423] meeting thus temporarily changes the authority structure of the village. The
[425] growing taro crop and the available pigs become, at least ideally, the corporate property of the village, whereas normally they are family property. The *pondo kiari embo* becomes, at least formally and ritually, the controller of this property. The unit of the group of offerers of the sacrifice is a necessary condition for the success of the rituals that follow.

621 The same principle underlies one detail of the ritual taro display to which I
574 have not yet made reference. At the meeting 'special betelnuts' (I do not know
431 just what medicine is used on them) are distributed by the feast-giver to be
276 shared, after the meeting, between the men and their wives. The men are to ask
562 their wives whether the taro are ready. This is a ritual question, as the men go to the garden daily, but it is the women who are supposed to have charge of growing taro and – in a ritual sense – the men therefore do not know. After receiving an answer to this question, the husband will share the 'special' betelnut with his wife. While the enacting of this ritual would make even the most slow-witted of women aware of what is afoot, the women should still supposedly remain ignorant of the plan to hold a feast. Informants readily admit that this ignorance is a fiction. The significance of the shared betelnut is to provide against the anger a wife might feel when the taro harvest over which she has ritual control is

CHAPTER 3 - OTHER PROPERTY

Housing

942 319 423 All materials for building the Inonda village were acquired from land and trees in which the people hold rights of one form or another.(1) The framework is usually made of wange saplings and the floor of black palm. Sago thatch is used for the roof and split sago midribs for the walls. Saplings for the framework may be obtained from any virgin bush or second growth though most people said they used saplings which they had cut during the course of clearing new gardens.

Sago for the roof and walls must be acquired from one's own trees unless they are inadequate, in which case it is necessary to negotiate with someone who has a surplus. Of the eight houses in the village, sago for three of them was obtained from trees belonging to the household head and for three others from trees belonging to the father of the household head. One, who has only permissive status in the village, obtained sago from his daughter's husband's father's trees. The last man has insufficient trees and obtained thatch from trees on his mother's clan's land in a neighbouring village.

Tools and equipment

412 422 Very few agricultural implements are used. Each adult male has an axe for felling bush and every man and woman has a bush knife which is used in weeding, clearing and harvesting. Planting is done with a digging stick. There are no other gardening implements in regular use.

412 435 The axes and knives were bought from local trade stores and though actual prices paid are not known, current re-

(1) With the exception of a few sheets of iron used for ridging and eaves which were collected from ex-army dumps.

422 435 placement cost is 19/6 for an axe and 12/6 for a bush knife, or a total of approximately £2.10.0 per family.

422 422 Most men own a shovel or two and three men have picks, but these were all collected from an abandoned army dump. They are used mainly for digging house posts and drains, though some use shovels to plant sweet potatoes. Most households have a grass-cutting knife for cutting grass around the houses and along the roads and a few men have some basic carpentry tools.(1)

411 422 Every man has one or more hunting spears which he has either made himself or inherited from a real or classificatory father. They are simple weapons and are said to take not more than a day to make. The councillor owns a gun which he purchased for £29.0.0.

Livestock

231 422 Domestic pigs and fowls are kept in small numbers. They are said to be owned by men, cared for by women, and eaten by all. They are killed only for feasts. Six householders have one pig each, one has three and one has seven. Only four households have fowls - one has twenty-four, one has two and two have one each. Eight of the pigs were bred by the owners, one was purchased for £1 cash, one was given by a man's former work-mate and six were given as piglets by relatives. Twenty-four of the fowls were obtained by barter, one by cash purchase, two by gift from a former work-mate and one by gift at marriage from a relative.

The only other domesticated animal is the dog, of which there are three in the village. Though only two men have dogs, they are used quite frequently for hunting.

231 Owing to the constant pressure on owners to make

(1) The total agricultural and other tools in the village are as follows: 10 shovels, 11 axes, 18 bush knives, 9 grass knives, 3 picks, 1 hoe, 7 hammers, 4 saws, 1 pinch bar, 3 chisels, 1 adze and an assortment of hunting spears. Total current replacement value is £55.5.0.

income derived from cash-cropping and trading. Prestige may be an even more important motivation to the acquisition of vehicles than it is with trade stores.

Other property

As shown in Table 3 the entrepreneurs have tools to the average replacement value of $30 and equipment associated with their cash-cropping to an average replacement value of $180 - an average of $210 per man. By comparison Orokaiva people of Inonda village had only about $13 and Sivepe village about $18 worth of tools and equipment per household.[1]

The entrepreneurs all had a range of consumers durable goods far beyond that found in villages. A and B owned bicycles worth about $50 each, A and D each had a radio which cost $60 and $47 respectively, and A and D also each owned wood-burning stoves costing about $70 each. The wife of C had a sewing machine which cost $70 (not listed in the table of tools and equipment as it is used only for domestic purposes). All had kerosene lamps and three of the four had clocks or watches. The average replacement value of the above items was in the region of $125 per man. It is estimated that possessions of this kind in Orokaiva villages in which we worked would average about $10 per householder.

The houses of the entrepreneurs are all somewhat larger than the average village house, and for many years B maintained two homes - one in his coffee garden and one in the cocoa garden. D's home is much more elaborate than the others and contains crockery, cutlery and kitchen utensils worth over $50 as well as beds, chairs, tables and curtains which are almost never found among villagers. A has a modern cocoa fermentary worth $500, B has a coffee drying store and trays, estimated worth $80, and C a copra drier worth about $100.

By comparison with other Orokaiva people the entrepreneurs have few livestock, at least partly because they damage the root systems of the coffee and cocoa trees. A, B and C had none at all and D kept thirteen fowls from which he hopes to breed for commercial egg and poultry production. Householders at Inonda and Sivepe, by contrast, kept an average of two pigs and two to three fowls each.

At the request of the entrepreneurs, details of their individual holdings of cash are not included in this paper and can only be made available to researchers or to others with the permission of the entrepreneurs. All four have savings accounts, the average

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

[1] Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:44-5, Rimoldi 1966:25. Other comparisons in this section are drawn from the same sources.

Table 3

Replacement value of tools and equipment owned by entrepreneurs*

	A		B		C		D	
	No.	Value $	No.	Value $	No.	Value $	No.	Value $
Tools								
Axes	2	3.35	2	3.90	3	5.85	2	5.00
Bush knives	5	7.25	3	4.35	5	7.40	2	2.40
Grass knives	5	1.25	4	1.00	3	0.75	-	-
Picks	1	2.90	1	2.90	-	-	-	-
Shovels	1	3.20	1	2.40	1	2.40	-	-
Spades	-	-	3	6.15	1	2.05	2	2.40
Forks	-	-	1	2.92	1	1.70	-	-
Rakes	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.85
Hoes	-	-	1	1.25	-	-	-	-
Adze	1	2.35	1	2.35	-	-	1	1.50
Saws	2	7.45	-	-	1	2.40	1	4.50
Hammers	1	1.65	1	1.65	1	0.80	2	2.05
Pinch bars	1	1.50	-	-	-	-	-	-
Planes	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8.75
Levels	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.20
Shears	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.85
Rulers	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.80
Total tools		30.90		28.87		23.35		36.30
Equipment								
Shotguns	1	56.00	1	56.00	1	56.00	1	43.00
Coffee hullers	1	28.00	2	50.00	-	-	-	-
Coffee pulpers	1	64.00	1	58.00	-	-	-	-
Coffee grinders	1	4.15	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pulping troughs	-	-	3	6.00	-	-	-	-
Rice hullers	1	31.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Knapsack sprays	1	26.50	-	-	-	-	-	-
Counter scales	1	3.50	1	6.00	-	-	1	3.00
Produce scales	1	8.50	1	12.00	-	-	-	-
Water hoses	-	-	1	4.72	-	-	-	-
Buckets	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.70
Iron	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9.00
Sewing machine	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	192.00
Total equipment		221.65		192.72		56.00		250.70
Total tools and equipment		252.55		221.59		79.35		287.00

* These were retail replacement values in Popondetta stores at the time the inventories were made.

balance in December 1965 being close to $300. The value of savings certificates averaged $10, shares in Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society and Gona Co-operative Society $10, shares in Oro Ltd $85 and cash in hand $42, giving an average total of all liquid assets of $447.[1] In both cash and other liquid assets A, B and C were much better off than D, though D's consumption level appeared to be very much higher because of his government development loan.

A, C and D have no traditional valuables (hambo and di) though in each case their brothers do have. B had $87 worth in May 1963.[2] The averages for Inonda and Sivepe villages, by comparison, were $18 and $11 per man. Whereas Inonda people acquired most of their valuables by inheritance or in traditional exchanges, B acquired almost all of his for cash.[3] In his young days he bought some when visiting distant places but most of them have been acquired when people appeal to him at tax collection time (tax is $4 per year) or when they need cash for other urgent necessities. The visitor presents him with a valuable and asks for 'help' in the form of its cash value. Most persons requesting this help have been distant maternal kin, but some are friends with whom he had trading or work connections in earlier years. The fact that none come from his own village is said to be because neighbours or close relatives would be ashamed to ask for money in this way. The other three entrepreneurs say they decline requests of this kind.

Income

An attempt to assess annual expenditure was abandoned. It is difficult enough to assess income which comes in relatively large amounts from limited sources and at long intervals and for which some records are available as a check. Expenditure, on the other hand, is in much smaller amounts, for a much wider range of commodities and for which almost no documentary evidence is available.

An assessment of income is given in Table 4.

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[1] Cash savings of Inonda and Sivepe village householders, on the other hand, averaged $24 and $21 respectively.

[2] For method of valuing hambo and di, see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:97.

[3] We have heard of recent examples of sale within villages elsewhere in the Orokaiva area.

231 they marauded gardens, so that I assume that a good number could
be rounded up if Sivepa were to hold a major feast. They were not
at all accessible, however, and none were caught during such hunting
[422] expeditions as the people organized. On the occasions when marauding
pigs were shot, the pigs were always recognized and presented by
the killer to the owner who then presented his pig to some other
person. No doubt these pigs were a resource and perhaps I was at
fault for not taking a census, but with no pigs visibly in evidence,
I considered these assets as too shadowy. In Inonda, where Crocombe
and Hogbin reported 12 pigs in 1962, only two were left in 1966.
235 My prognosis for pigs as an economic resource is poor. The fowl
[262] population, on the other hand, had remained very much as it was at
these earlier investigations: eggs were discovered and eaten
occasionally, but the use of the fowl was for feasting when visitors
[239] had to be entertained. It was also noticeable that the roosters
[295] were deprived of many of their choicest feathers at a time when
[411] headdresses had to be refurbished for dancing or spears decorated.
[594] At a visit from Togahou, which by traditional etiquette, as I
understand it, should have rated at least one pig, the people of
Sivepa killed only fowls. This was, I was told, because there
were no pigs available; hence the fowls were a proper substitute.
It would seem that the fowl is rapidly becoming the substitute for
the pig on many ceremonial occasions, though not yet for all
occasions.

438 There is a great shortage of both pigs and fowls for these
439 ceremonial occasions. Pigs are bought for high prices ($20 to
[435] $30)--from neighboring villages and even, as Crocombe and Hogbin
say, from European planters. Fowls tend to be made available on
big occasions by whoever has them so that their number does not
increase--a few dozen in each of the two villages.

241 We may distinguish, among local plant resources which yield
311 economic products, those plants which are native to the district
and those which have been introduced by Europeans for cash cropping
purposes. Starting our survey with the former of these two
categories, we shall deal first with food plants and next with
economic trees. I have tabulated average food plants per household
as shown for Rimoldi's Sivepa sample and as shown by Crocombe and
Hogbin for Inonda (Table 7).[A] The pattern for the two places is
remarkably similar except that sweet potato is a notably more
important crop at Inonda than at Sivepa. The reason for this is
that it is more dependable under drought conditions such as often
occur at Inonda and also, it seems to do better at Inonda. The
fact that the Inonda taro acreage is higher than the Sivepa acreage
reflects no more than the higher yield per acre in the latter place.
There is no evidence that any major change occurred in the quantities
grown or the methods of cultivation over the period with which we
are concerned, though a small increase in the consumption of
Xantosoma taro may be a symptom that people may be starting to

A [See Cat. 116, p. 212--Analyst]

657 731 423 maternal relatives. Moreover, the fact that these groups have a clan name in common implies very much less than that they have rights in each other's land. They have rights to be protected and succoured as brothers in times of war, starvation or other emergencies, but rights in land cannot be established on that basis.

The government sometimes went to considerable trouble to give supposedly secure land tenure to those who agreed to stay in the resettlement villages. I have already stressed that in such cases one cannot speak of "clan land" being made available to the immigrants, because all Orokaiva land is owned by individual extended families. [926] In such cases, individuals lend pieces of land to immigrants who are allowed to cultivate them on a year-to-year basis. Their usehold lapses when they leave the community. It goes without saying that where this land is used by the techniques of shifting agriculture, a man cannot depend on the land resources of his new village unless he gets enough land to make about eight gardens in eight successive years. Plant estimated immigrants' needs at five acres per person and this is a good deal of land. I know of several cases where land was lent to people who needed some. The pieces transferred usually measured at the most one or two acres--enough, to be sure, for subsistence over a short term but no more. The effect of this is not to make life in the new village impossible but to hold the immigrant in a position of dependence on landholders. Understandable, the immigrants make every effort, after resettlement, to cultivate their own land, even if it is situated some distance away. Once they begin to do this, the temptation to build a village near their home gardens is very strong. According to Orokaiva ideas, the immigrants lose all rights over land which has been lent to them by their hosts as soon as they stop residing in the village where the land is. Thus, as soon as people decide to leave a resettlement village, they lose any rights in it that their hosts may have given them, if Orokaiva legal principles are followed.

I shall illustrate these principles in one concrete instance, the resettlement village of Mumuni, situated between Sasembata and Wasata, and I shall show how the government attempted to improve the land tenure position of resettled groups. After the eruption, the people of Dapari were persuaded to settle in Mumuni, which was intended [425] as one of the new style resettlement villages. They were given some land to cultivate and stayed for several years. When the government [245] began to encourage the planting of coffee trees, the Dapari immigrants planted coffee gardens at Mumuni. Under Orokaiva law, it is permissible [426] to plant trees on borrowed land provided the owner consents and the produce from that tree will then always belong to the planter, even [422] when the land as such reverts to the owner. One frequently sees a betelnut palm or a breadfruit tree which is owned by a person who at one time borrowed the land and which is harvested by the planter and left undisturbed by the owner of the land.

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different [562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee [422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
613 did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
614 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. Now in this respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepe: out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepe in 1962, 503 belonged to Jegase and Timumu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepe today most men grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very significant differences in other respects between socio-economic patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
561 noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly [535] a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepe is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The [177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in [821] 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase [167] people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor [191] in Sivepe were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

614 The statistics (Table 20) show that Jegase male adults have
463 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys, [179] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless, an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the Australian National University, which made Sivepe into a sample village for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]

241 of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The immediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Consistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely 621 more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

The hamlet is based normally on patrilocal-patrilineal principles of organization, with a known strong tendency for new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are [614] reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually scattered through several closely related settlements. The 592 generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate 621 authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living 622 units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together, usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal 422 property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils, clothing, and body ornaments.

181 In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrelsome and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in [154] the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Supernatural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared. Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually [562] hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen ac- [786] companying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that [628] while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were [778] precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes 361 as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic,"; 241 but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture [578] which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site." Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend 361 to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During 261 this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild 731 roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the 165 excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

361 Williams and others judge that with the modern pacifica- 178 tion, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller living units than before. This appears to apply particularly [749] to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village 361 type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influ- 571 ence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have